B:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
682 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were
686 committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of
602 high tension in these relationships. Male
[476] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship [428] pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother
682 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
627 as the man who avenges one's own death (case
593 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967

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[P.462-C]

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607

TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	3	1	4	3	2	3	11	37

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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602 476 626 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 476 423 62 [606] Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.

476 342 607 593 241

support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) occurred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts. Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition, they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

(see pp.245-247..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

8: Hún E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational